1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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An Orokaiva Youth wearing
Head-dress and *Heso*

[Frontispiece]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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[facing p. 26]

(*a*) A man of the River Gira

(*b*) Woman and child of Wasida

PLATE IV

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1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

IV

PERSONAL ENHANCEMENT

Clothes

291 ONE of the earliest observers of the Orokaiva, John Green, who was Government Agent in the year 1895, reported that 'The majority of the men who live on the Mambare are quite naked'.[1] Sir Wm. MacGregor noted a year earlier that in the neighbourhood of Gona Bay the men wore 'a strip of painted mulberry cloth', but that many wore nothing; and again in the same *Annual Report* he writes, 'On the Ope the men are naked'.[2]

In these times one seldom sees a man without the perineal band of bark-cloth, *bo*. Old men and sick men sometimes go quite naked for the sake of comfort; and boys until they assume the *bo* some time before puberty. The perineal band is a strip of bark-cloth passed round the waist, drawn between the legs, and knotted loosely in front. Because of this method of adjustment it is called *bo-abo*. It always covers the penis, but a native apparently feels no shame about exposing his testicles. When the strip is long enough it is so [531] arranged that the end will hang as an apron or tail-piece which is painted with rude but effective patterns. This latter fashion belongs to the Bush and Salt-Water People rather than to the River People.

The woman's dress consists of a bark-cloth skirt, i.e. a wider strip passed round the hips and supported by being tucked under a belt in front. At the rear it is not tucked under but hangs somewhat below the belt, and young and attractive women allow it to show a glimpse of their buttocks. These younger women and *atawei*, or unmarried girls, wear the *bo* short, not reaching to their knees, but with older women it is sometimes of an ungainly size. Newly made, the cloth is coarse and stiff, but being painted with

291 531

[1] *Annual Report*, 1895-6, p. 76. [2] *Annual Report*, 1895-6, pp. 4 and 33.

[p.132]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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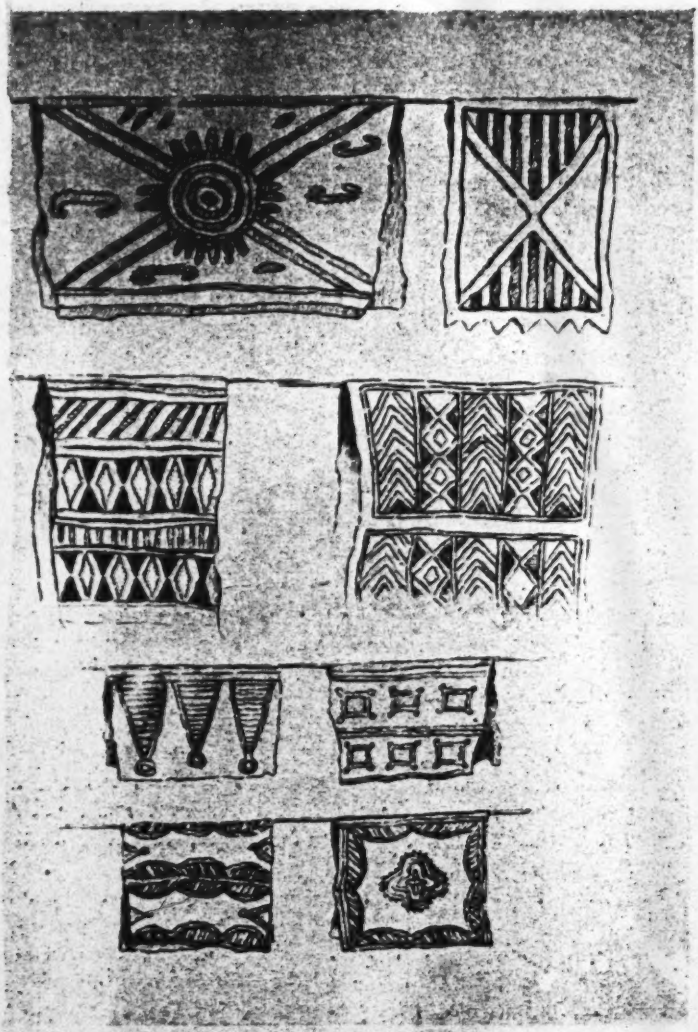

Typical Bark-cloth Designs

PLATE V

[facing p. 32]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

291 [531] designs in red, brown, and black is not unbecoming. A good specimen may be regarded much as a party frock, and a woman is fully conscious of being well dressed when she wears it. It is amusing to see an old dame in expectation of a visit dart into her house and reappear in her best piece of bark-cloth. Growing older the garment grows softer and dirtier and loses all claim to beauty.

Among the Bush and Salt-Water People the woman's *bo* is worn from puberty onwards; among the River People only from marriage onwards. Nowadays a new sense of modesty in the presence of white men has altered this, but one may still occasionally see fully-developed young women among the Aiga or Binandele who go quite naked and without any trace of shame. The assumption of the *bo* by girls as well as boys will be referred to in a later chapter. A few examples of patterned bark-cloth are shown in the accompanying illustration. The method of beating the cloth and painting it are described under 'Arts of Life' (pp. 77–8).

[765] The palm-leaf petticoat, commonly known by the Motuan name *rami*, is found as a sign of mourning among the Dirou tribe and on the lower Opi (see p. 222 n.). It is also reported at Lake Koena without any suggestion that it is restricted to mourning;[1] and further as worn by the Yema at Bovera on the Eia, where the older women use it as the proper dress of their people, while the younger have adopted the bark-cloth skirt of their Binandele neighbours.[2]

292 *The Bark-cloth Hat, Pobu.* The heads of old men are sometimes covered with a small sheet of bark-cloth called *pobu*. It encloses the mass of their hair, and falls over the back. Usually ragged and greasy, the *pobu* is no ornament but yet a mark of age and importance. No young man is seen wearing this unsightly rag. He would be at once too vain of his appearance and too modest to assume a headgear that is the prerogative of age.

292 589 *The Widow's Cowl.* Upon her emergence from seclusion the widow wears a cowl-shaped headgear, also called *pobu*. This, as she hangs her head, conceals her whole face and

[1] Beaver, *Annual Report*, 1914–15, p. 14.
[2] F. R. Cawley, *Annual Report*, 1922–3, p. 25.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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292 589 [531] covers the curious shame which she feels on this occasion. It is made of bark-cloth or of string netting, and is embroidered, sometimes completely covered, with the seeds known as Job's Tears. Being made and decorated with great care, however, it is later worn rather as an ornament under which the widow's charms suffer no concealment.

292 589 531 *The Widow's Vest, Baja.* This is usually a straight sleeveless shirt of knitted string completely covered with Job's Tears (*Coix lachrimae*). It reaches usually to the waist but sometimes as low as to the knees. *Coix lachrimae* seeds are of two kinds, the one a delicate grey, the other fawn, and with the introduction of black and sometimes red seeds the garment may be very effectively decorated.

291 *The Bark-cloth Mantle.* This is merely a broad sheet, three feet square or more, which is wrapped round the shoulders in cold weather. It is also used very prettily by girls in the [535] dance. Holding it by two corners, the dancer swings it to and fro as she moves or allows it to float out behind her head. The bark-cloth is gaily painted and the girl's move- [631] ments are light and graceful, so that in this guise she is not ineptly called *boriri*, 'the butterfly'.

292 *Bi-kaio, the Apron.* This is a small square of knitted string which hangs from the belt in front of the body. It is worn only by old men of distinction, and is seldom seen even on [177] them. It may be only a partly assimilated introduction from the hill neighbours (Biagi, &c.), among whom it is certainly found more commonly. In the only example which I saw [531] the string was knitted in patterns of red, brown, black, and white, and the fabric was decorated with black seeds and tufts of cuscus fur. W. N. Beaver mentions the *bi-kaio* in his list of *otohu*.[1]

Hair-dressing

302 The Orokaiva commonly allows his hair to grow long, and with the frequent application of coco-nut oil the close ringlets become clogged in a series of tags. The typical *coiffure* is therefore a mass of tails about the thickness of a

[1] 'Notes on Homicidal Emblems among the Orokaiva', &c., *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 97; under *Ve Hajo*.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

kaiva. One is *samemi*, the narrow pearl-shell circle obtained from the trochus; the other is *siba*, the circle of coco-nut shell. Armlets of plaited cane or fern fibre are also common.

The skin of cuscus (*pauri*, *koviro*) may be attached to the armlets in the form of long streamers on which tufts of feathers may be tied at intervals. (The tanning of the skin is done, I am told, by powdering with red ochre or lime.)

(7) *Belts.*

These are mostly of plaited cane strips, sometimes with simple patterns made by introducing a darker material. The commonest of these patterns is shown on Plate IX (*b*).

Examples of finer texture are plaited with the strands of a creeper called *angoro*. A belt of another kind is made from the creeper named *sita*. Strands of this are plaited into a fine rope, black in colour, bearing a polish, which passes round the hips in multitudinous coils. The creeper is obtained only in the hills and is highly valued.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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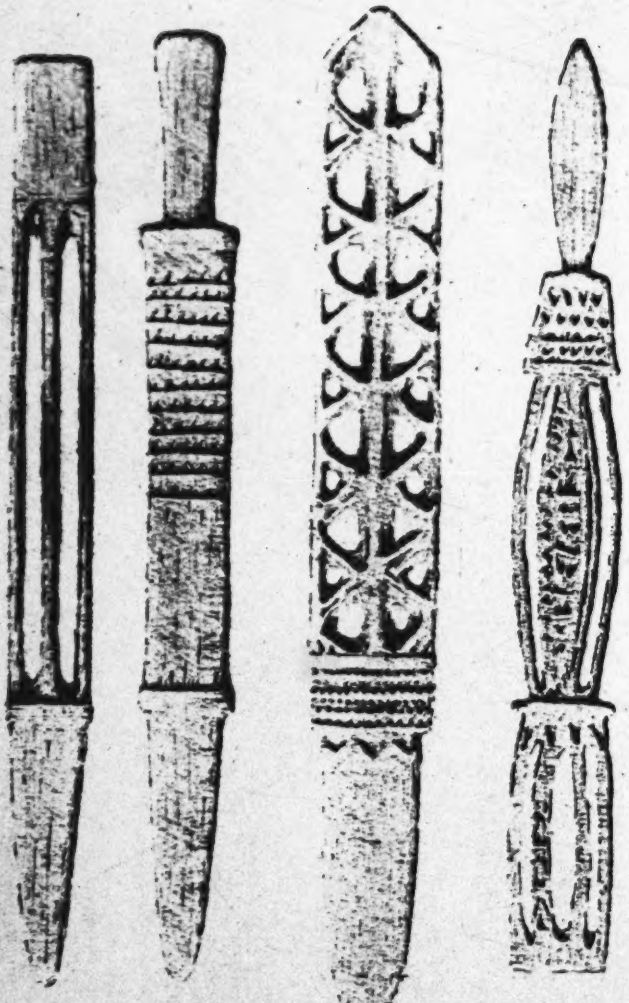
the mouth of the lime-pot and then into the mouth of the chewer, who sucks off the thin coating of lime powder. Usually the spatula is very indifferently carved, for the Orokaiva is no wood-carver; the few examples illustrated are of somewhat exceptional merit (Plate XIII). With the large lime-pot (*kananga*) there usually goes a spatula of bone, and the two together may constitute an *otoku* or ceremonial gift made at initiation, though in use they are both appropriate to old age, and a youth or person of small consequence would not have the effrontery to use them. The old man makes a somewhat ostentatious rattling of the bone spatula against the opening of the *kananga*.

Tobacco is a late introduction in the Northern Division, having preceded the European by hardly more than a generation. The evidence clearly indicates that the mountaineers behind Kokoda first brought it to the Orokaiva, and that, travelling from the neighbourhood of Kokoda, it had not reached the Mambare or the lower Kumusi by the time MacGregor first visited these rivers.[1] Its original names are said to have been *orokaiva* (or *kaiva*) and *kuku*, the last being used before the whites brought their trade tobacco, which is now known throughout the Territory as *kuku*. The name *orokaiva* has already been discussed, but with regard to the others, *kaiva* and *kuku*, it may be worth while drawing attention to the singular coincidence that the two words are joined together in the Gulf Division and indicate a masked figure, *Kainakuku*, and that in the Northern Division they are alternative names for the same substance, native tobacco.

Several other names, more or less local, are used, viz. *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* (derived from the resemblance of the tobacco leaf to those of the *Hajojo* and *Tonaki* trees); *Masati*, which is said to be the same word as *masa*, 'stink'; and *soka*, which bears a suspicious resemblance to the name *sokawa*, commonly used for tobacco west of the Fly river, and may have been introduced by the early Kiwai police. Several varieties are distinguished. The leaf is simply sun-dried, and is smoked either in the well-known bamboo tube (*poru*) or else rolled with some leaf or other into a cigarette.

[1] *Annual Report*, 1893, pp. 31, 34.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23



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O-ta or Lime Spatulae

PLATE XIII

[facing p 66]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

276 Certain barks are chewed as if they were stimulants, but it is questionable whether they have any effect other than in the imagination of the chewer. The most notable example [794] is a hot and highly scented bark called *Pota*, used by *Baigona* men, i.e. the exponents of the almost extinct cult of snakes. But one might suppose that if the product had any genuinely stimulant properties it would have come into wider use.

[531]

FIG. 13. *Poru* or Bamboo Pipe. Incised and partly scraped, the scraped surfaces being shaded.

Satiri or *Peki* (Fork)—The V-shaped cut in the top of a building post.
Tono—A kind of tree snake.
Papau—The hole made in a branch by a boring insect.

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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323 When the clay has been thoroughly pounded the woman commences to work with her hands. First she fashions a small saucer-like base (*obu-atu*). Then, taking a small lump of clay, she rolls it with the heel of her hand on a broad strip of bark which she holds in her lap for a rolling-board. Thus treated it becomes a long thin strip perhaps a quarter of an inch in diameter. This she coils round the rim of the *obu-atu*, and thereafter continues to roll strips and coil them one above the other so that the pot gradually grows and widens. Each coil is pressed home with the thumb and tapped lightly with a small baton (*tavi*). When three or four have been applied the potter moistens them with a few drops from a broken gourd of water by her side, and with the baton pats or smooths out the grooves on the outer side. She does the same more carefully on the inner side with the smooth surface and the sharp edge of a river shell-fish.

The completely fashioned pot is set aside till several are ready and may be burnt together. In shape it widens towards the mouth, which forms a good circle. Instead of being semi-globular the vessel shows a slight tendency to narrow down to a point at its base, so that its form has been compared to the more pointed half of an egg.

323 The modern pot is often devoid of ornament. Sometimes
531 it has a few incised markings; sometimes raised pinched markings. Neither possess much artistic value. On the river Gira (and on certain earlier fragments from near the mouth of the Opi, where I understand pottery is not nowadays made) I have seen overlaid markings (formed by pressing on small strips of clay while the pot is in making) which have more artistic possibilities. They are called *bubuko* (the same word being used for the raised cicatrice sometimes seen on the arms and breasts of women).

281 *Bark-cloth* (*Bo*). Numerous wild trees (I have eight names which I imagine to be mostly ficus) yield *bo* or bark-cloth. The best is named *Ajimo*, which provides a very white cloth; it is sometimes transplanted and may be even cultivated in a small grove. The cloth from other trees varies in colour between white and brown. Beaten on a log, a strip of the proper bark spreads out to an extraordinary size, and when

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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dried forms a coarse but tough material. The typical club is an elongated pebble (*kini*) with incised criss-cross lines (*jari*). The work is done by women, who make a common practice of withdrawing beyond the edge of the village, ostensibly to remove the annoyance of the loud continued tapping. The decoration—of which examples have been depicted elsewhere—is the artistic prerogative of women. It is executed in red and black. The red is a vegetable dye; the black is lamp-black obtained by burning a resinous gum called *ongo*. This, placed in a small receptacle, is lighted and covered with a large inverted fragment of pottery. The burning *ongo* gives off a heavy aromatic smoke and the soot is deposited on the under-surface of the pot. A little water is subsequently added and the black pigment is mopped up out of the pot with a sponge of grass and squeezed into a fragment of coco-nut or a cockle-shell, which is to serve as palette. Using for brush a tuft of frayed betel husk, the painter works quickly, confidently, and often carelessly. The workmanship is, as a rule, exceedingly crude, but the decorative effect is excellent, being somewhat enhanced when the garish colours are softened by a distant view and a shade of dirtiness.

Pandanus Mats (*Obi*). The broad leaves of the pandanus are sewn by women into mats. The minute prickles on edge and midrib are shaved off and the whole leaf is rubbed with those detergent leaves that serve the native for sandpaper. This is said to hasten their drying and to ensure their flexibility. When dry they are sewn together in two complete layers with a partial transverse layer of narrower strips between them. The finished mat, together with a plain block of wood for pillow, constitutes the Orokaiva's bedding.

Coco-nut Mats (*Tere*). The mat for outdoor use is made of coco-nut leaf. A frond is split down the midrib and the leaves of either side are then woven neatly together to form a mat for which the halves of the split midrib form the side borders.

At the wider end of the mat two small appendages called *tengere* ('ears') stand out from either side. They are formed by plaiting the leaves which pass below the end of the mid-

1: Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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411 (Plate XVIIIb). Of the attached strings one is in the form of a loop, which is passed round a finger; the other is released in throwing.

The Shield. The shield (*beha* or *pere*) is made of light wood, about ½ inch thick, strongly bound with narrow strips of cane to prevent splitting. The handle is a loop of stout rattan which passes through the wood. The shape of the shield—square cut above and pointed below—caused early observers to refer to it very appropriately as 'Gothic'. It [531] sometimes bears a device—in no manner heraldic but purely decorative—made by interlacing black strands among the yellow cane binding strips; and when this is well done the effect may be artistic and even dainty (Plate XIX).

The *beha* is held under-grip in the warrior's left hand, which also contrives to hold a club and even an extra spear. His right hand poises or brandishes the spear which he is about to throw, giving little jerks which cause it to vibrate like a twanged string. (At that moment it might well enough be called a 'shadowy spear'.)

Shields are used very adroitly in turning or intercepting missiles, and a broken spear-point buried in the wood is regarded as a trophy. Despite the fact that their serious use is over they are still very commonly kept in readiness—at least by the Aiga—and they always make a fracas possible. Like most other men the Orokaiva has no stomach for the plain spear, and he enjoys his inter-tribal brawl much more when he has a *beha* in his hand.

Miscellaneous Implements

412 The implements used in gardening, sago-making, fishing, &c., have already been described. It remains to mention a few used for general purposes.

The Adze or Axe. The adze or axe blade (*oto*) is a ground river pebble. This is bound with cane into a split tang, and the tang is driven into a groove in the forked branch which serves as a handle. Here it is held by a binding of plaited cane. The implement is either axe or adze according to the way the tang is turned.

The celt itself is made from a selected river pebble by

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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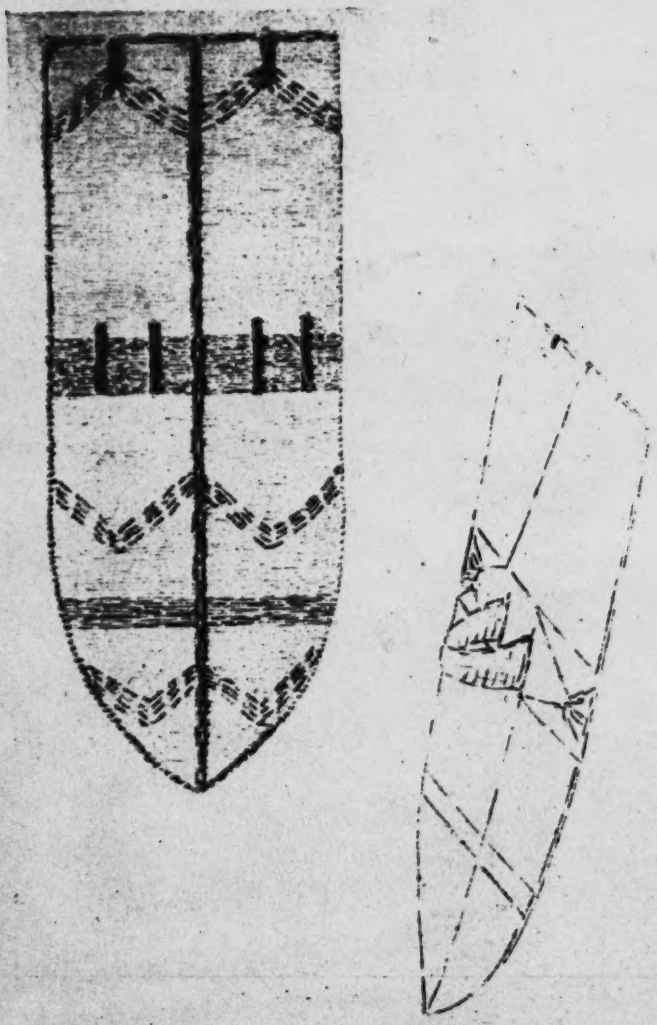

Beha or Shield, 30 in. by 12 in.

PLATE XIX

[facing p.84]

1:Williams E,G-5 (1923-1925) 1930
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534 tiality. Drums are of three distinct kinds. The largest is called *ino* (which also means 'dog'). It is used in the dance called *Java-kuru*, which is the original dance of the Orokaiva, so that the *ino* may be the most primitive of the three drums. It is sometimes as much as 3 feet 9 inches in length and has a very deep tone. The second is called *ebu*. It is of medium size about 2 feet in length, and is used in the *Si* and *Paruka* dances. The third (12 or 13 inches long) is called *Saunda* or *Tatau* (both words being perhaps onomatopoeic), and is used in the *Saunda* and *Puga* dances. This drum is confined to the Aiga, Binandele, and Tain-Daware tribes, though in recent times its distribution is growing wider.

The drum is a hollow tube narrowing somewhat to a waist in the middle. The hollowing is effected by slowly burning out with the aid of a bamboo blow-pipe. The larger drums are usually fitted with a handle, *tei* ('foot'); the smaller ones are often without it. All have two raised rings at the waist called *pupunga*. *Pupunga* is the name of a kind of opossum or cuscus, from the skin of whose tail are made finger-rings. Hence by a somewhat fantastic explanation, which is not improbably correct, comes the name *pupunga* for the rings on the drum.

The closed end is called *boboru*, 'head'; the other is *abo*, or literally the fundamental orifice. A tympanum of lizard skin (obtained usually from the monitor lizard, *anga*) is stretched over and stuck on with starchy cooked taro, and is then bound on tightly with bark-cloth. It is tautened by applications of beeswax, which is said to be essential to a good tone. A lump of this material is stuck to the side of the drum, and little pellets are detached and applied to the lizard skin.

A good deal of care is taken to ensure a proper resonance before a concert begins. The *pupunga* bear incised decora- [53] tions (chevrons and zigzags) of mediocre quality.

Trumpets. The Orokaiva chorus is accompanied not only by drums but usually also by a conch shell, blown by one of the most juvenile of the performers. This instrument adds much to the volume but little to the harmony of the concert. It is commonly a large spiral shell with a hole, but an alterna-